

ADDRESS



OF THE

NEW-YORK CITY

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK:

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1833.

A D D R E S S.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:

HAVING associated together for the purpose of removing the greatest reproach from the character of our beloved country, and of averting a crisis which threatens to involve the whole land in ruin, we consider it due to you, who have the same interests at stake with ourselves, to give you a frank explanation of our principles and plans. We trust to the candor of our fellow-citizens, that this enlightened community will pronounce an upright judgment when they shall become fully acquainted with our views; while we respectfully protest against being judged by the misrepresentations of those who are strangers to the feelings of our hearts, and forgetful of the principles of American liberty.

Our object, as set forth in our Constitution, to which we refer you, is "to take all lawful, moral, and religious means, to effect a total and immediate abolition of slavery in the United States." To aim at less, would be to aid in perpetuating sla-

very. We are quite sure that all virtuous citizens desire its extinction. It is our object to recommend to them the only practicable and safe plan which has ever been proposed for the accomplishment of this great moral enterprise. It is that of

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

By this term, we mean to say that all property of man in man should instantly cease;—that the right of all men to a fair recompense for their labor should be practically as well as theoretically admitted; and that all the people of these United States should be equally secured in the possession of the “unalienable rights” recognized in the Declaration of Independence, “of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

By the epithet *immediate*, we mean emphatically to mark our dissent from the project of *gradual* abolition—a plan that, on the testimony of Wilberforce and Clarkson, and the unanimous consent of the philanthropists of England, has been the virtual means of preventing the abolition of slavery in the British possessions, for nearly half a century; a plan which has, for almost sixty years, beguiled the free citizens of the United States, by soothing the public conscience with the hope of a wise and well digested measure of relief, while the number of the oppressed has already increased from half a million to two millions. We object, therefore, to the scheme of *gradual* emancipation, because it is too inefficient to arrest the mighty evil that threatens to destroy this nation. In contrast with

this, the world knows that the doctrine of immediate emancipation has availed more, the past six years, in England, than fifty years previous discussion of the delusive dream of gradual abolition.

We do not advocate the emancipation of the colored race from law; on the contrary, we plead for them that they may be placed under its control and protection. *We do not address ourselves to the oppressed;* but with hearts of benevolence to both master and slave, we beseech the master to grant to his slave, what humanity, justice, interest, conscience and God demand. By immediate emancipation, therefore, we mean that measures shall be immediately taken to deliver the slave from the arbitrary will of the master, and place him under the salutary restraints and protection of law. We do not aim at any interference with the constitutional rights of the slave holding states, for Congress, as is well understood, has no power to abolish slavery in the several states.

We see no absurdity in the use of immediate, as applied to these measures, nor do we transcend the ordinary force of language when we call an important and complex public measure an immediate one, if it be promptly commenced with the honest determination of urging it on to its completion. The immediate subjugation of a revolted province, may be consistently urged by the senator who knows that a protracted campaign may intervene between the decree and its accomplishment. Or as our fathers, on the 4th of July '76 declared the

United States a free and independent nation ; notwithstanding it required seven years' conflict to place them in full enjoyment of the blessing.

SAFETY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

However new the doctrine of immediate emancipation may appear to some, there is abundant evidence that such a measure does not involve danger or loss to the emancipated, or to the community. Bolivar proclaimed liberty to his slaves, and many proprietors followed his example : nearly a million of colored slaves inhabited Colombia at that time, and a large part were immediately emancipated. M. Ravenga declares that the effect has been a degree of docility on the part of the blacks, and a degree of security on the part of the whites, unknown in any preceding period of the history of that republic.

In speaking of the slaves, captured by British vessels, and sent to Sierra Leone, Clarkson says :—
 “They must have contracted *as mortal a hatred of the whites* from their sufferings on board ship by fetters, whips, and suffocation in the hold, as the West Indian from those severities which are attached to their bondage upon shore. Under these circumstances then we find them *made free*; but, observe, not after any *preparatory discipline*, but almost *suddenly*, and *not singly*, but *in bodies*, at a time. We find them also settled, or made to live, under the *unnatural government* of the *whites*; and, what is more extraordinary, we find their present number, as compared with that of the whites

in the same colony, nearly as *one hundred and fifty to one*; notwithstanding which superiority, fresh emancipations are constantly taking place, as fresh cargoes of the captured arrive in port."

The abolition of slavery, in Mexico, was virtually immediate. The slaves were at once taken from the arbitrary will of their masters, and placed under law. A system of apprenticeship was established, allowing them to apply the compensation received for their labor, to the purchase of themselves and families; and in seven years, slavery had ceased to exist throughout that great Republic. Dr. Walsh states that in Brazil there are more than half a million enfranchised persons, Africans or of African descent, who were either slaves themselves, or are the descendants of slaves. He says, they are generally speaking "well conducted and industrious persons, who compose, indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks."

St. Domingo has reduced to practice the same doctrines, with similar good effects. We are aware that misrepresentations of the St. Domingo revolution have been so industriously made that few persons are at all acquainted with the real state of facts.

During the French revolution, it will be remembered, equality of rights was decreed to all citizens. When this was known in St. Domingo, the free people of color petitioned the National Assembly

that they might enjoy the same political privileges as the whites, which was granted. In 1794, the Conventional Assembly of France, passed a decree for the abolition of slavery throughout the French colonies. Colonel Malenfant, a slave proprietor, resident at the time in the island, says:

"The negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun: and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the negroes *continued their labors*, where there were any, even inferior, agents to guide them: and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon *all the plantations* where the whites resided, the blacks *continued to labor as quietly as before*. During the year 1795 and part of 1796 I learn nothing about them; neither good, bad nor indifferent, though I have ransacked the French historians for this purpose."

From the latter end of 1796 to 1802, a period of six years, the planters kept possession of their estates; lived upon them peaceably; and the freed negroes continued to be their laborers. Can there be any account more favorable to our views than this, after so sudden an emancipation?

The former masters, accustomed to the practice of arbitrary power, and to look down upon the negroes as reptiles of the earth, could not bear to come into familiar relations with them as free laborers, peaceably as the manumitted slaves had, for years, conducted themselves. In an evil hour

they prevailed upon Bonaparte, by false representations, and promises of money, to restore slavery. He prepared an immense armament under Leclerc, to bring about that event. The hellish expedition at length arrived on the shores of St. Domingo:—a scene of blood and torture followed, such as history had never before disclosed, and compared with which, though planned and executed by whites, all the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by the insurgent blacks, amount comparatively to nothing. In fine, the French were driven from the island. Till that time the planters retained their property, and then it was, but not till then, that they lost their all.

From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them. They, or their descendants, are the persons by whom the plains and valleys of St. Domingo are *still cultivated*, and they are reported to follow their occupations still, and with *as fair a character* as other free laborers in any other quarter of the globe.

We have now seen, that the emancipated negroes never abused their liberty, from the year 1794, (the era of their general emancipation) to the present day, a period of forty years.* Will any one say that this case is not analogous to that which we have in contemplation? Let us remember that the number of slaves liberated by the

* See Clark on's "Thoughts on the Practicability and safety of immediate emancipation." The substance of this most valuable pamphlet is found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 3, and should be thoroughly studied by every one who wishes to form his opinion upon *that*. The Reporter is a periodical printed in this city, and can be had at the bookstores.

French decrees in St. Domingo was very little short of 500,000 persons. We maintain that emancipation in St. Domingo was attended with far more hazard to persons and property, and with far greater difficulties, than it could possibly be, if attempted in this country. All the slaves were made free at once, or in a single day. No notice was given of the event, and of course no preparation could be made for it.—They were released suddenly, from all their former obligations and restraints, and became peaceable and industrious citizens.

We cannot find a single instance in which emancipation has been tried, that one drop of white blood has been shed, or even endangered by it. The enfranchised inhabitants of Jamaica are more numerous than the whites; and yet it appears, by returns printed by order of the House of Commons, that the proportion of criminal convictions of whites, and of enfranchised persons, was as *twenty-four* of the former to *eight* of the latter. In Barbadoes the free negroes and mulattoes are industrious, and are never seen begging, whereas the island is pestered with white beggars, of all ages. In Trinidad, there are upwards of fifteen thousand free people of color; there is not a single pauper amongst them; they live independently and comfortably, and nearly half the island is said to be in their hands. It is admitted that they are highly respectable in character, and are rapidly advancing in knowledge and refinement. The Haytians are 700,000 in number. There are no paupers, except the decrepid and aged. The people are charitable, hospita-

ble and kind, very respectful to foreigners, temperate, orderly, easily governed, and good mechanics. Admiral Fleming says, "The most happy, the best fed, and the most comfortable negroes I ever saw in the West Indies were in Hayti, even better than in the Carraceas, and decidedly better than the slaves in Jamaica."

We also speak of immediate abolition, to distinguish our proposals from all *indirect* attempts to destroy slavery, in our country. Our object being both lawful and honorable, our means honest, and our motives pure, we have no occasion to conceal them, by professing to aim at something else. We consider it criminal to amuse the country with any project, which will not attain an end so essential to the prosperity and very existence of our happy union. It is generally admitted, that the accursed system of slavery has already made the pillars of our government tremble, and it is demonstrable that nothing but its total removal can prevent the final overthrow and ruin of this republic.

It is one of our objects to inculcate the doctrine of Immediate Abolition as *an important moral sentiment*, as a duty we owe to our common Creator, to our fellow-men, and to ourselves, as republicans and Christians. We shall aim to show that this duty applies to individuals, to communities, to those who lead public opinion, to those who are conductors of the press, to preachers of the Gospel, to educators of youth, to parents, and to all descriptions of persons, as they love the human family, fear a just God, and hope for a blessed immortality.

So far are we, therefore, from seeking to turn loose an ungovernable horde of blacks, to prey upon society, that our sole design is to have them transferred from despotism to the control of law, providing for their regular employment, encouraging their industry, preventing idleness, punishing vagrancy, and securing their just compensation; leaving them to labor on the soil where most of them were born, and in the employments to which they are both fixed and accustomed; to endeavor to obtain for our colored fellow men the privileges held out to them in our Declaration of Independence, and to which they are entitled by the sentiment of the civilized world, as well as by the law of God. We feel certain that when the public mind shall be permitted to know the facts and shall be disabused of the impressions by which it has been imposed upon, it will call, in a tone not to be denied, for the adoption of measures right in themselves, congenial with our republican principles, and fraught with benefits to the whole people.*

We ask your attention now to a few considerations showing the true aspect of slavery among us, which are entitled to the most serious attention.] These propositions, be it remembered, are each

* "I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed or color slavery may assume. I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery: I am for justice, in the name of humanity and according to the law of the living God."--*O'Connell*.

† They are taken chiefly from the "Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans," by Mrs. Child, of Boston: a work that should be in every family in the United States.

supported by the evidence of actually existing laws.

1. *Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.*

2. *The labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the "human brute;" and even his covering and proreder, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.*

3. *The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living or a deceased master. Sold at auction, "either individually, or in lots, to suit the purchaser," he may remain with his family, or be separated from them forever.*

4. *Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends belong, in point of law, to their masters.*

5. *Neither a slave, or free colored person, can be a witness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit: but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave, or free colored man, even in cases affecting life.*

6. *The slave may be punished at his master's discretion—without trial—withont any means of legal redress,—whether his offense be real, or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person, or persons he may choose to appoint.*

7. *The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances: his only safety consists in the fact that his owner may bring suit, and recover, the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.*

8. *Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.*

9. *The slave is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations.*

10. *The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.*
11. *The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation.*
12. *The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.*
13. *There is, in this country, a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in the white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished, in the slave, with death.*
14. *The laws operate most oppressively upon free people of color, as we shall show in future publications.*

In some states,* where killing a slave is declared to be murder, the case is excepted of "any slave dying under moderate correction." It has been judicially determined that it is *justifiable* to kill a slave, resisting, or *offering to resist* his master, by force. This is found in the revised code of the law of slavery, for up to the year 1821, a pecuniary fine was the only restraint upon the wilful murder of a slave.

We feel it to be our duty to quote from authentic sources, some specimens of excessive severity in our own country, as examples of the cruelty that always exists in slave countries. They are inseparable from the system. If it should be admitted that a large proportion of masters are as kind to their slaves as they can be, consistently with keeping them in bondage, it is certain that abominable atrocities prevail in every slave state. We have a mass of evidence on this subject, that is calculated to awaken a sensibility in this country, equal to the

* Strong's Sketch of the Slave Law in the United States of America.

feeling excited in England when the "Three months in Jamaica" was published in that country.

A slave being missing, several planters united in a negro hunt, as it is called. They set out with dogs, guns, and horses, as they would chase a tiger. The poor fellow, being discovered, took refuge in a tree ; where he was deliberately shot by his pursuers.—*Child's Appeal, Page 21.*

A planter had occasion to send a female slave some distance on an errand. She did not return so soon as he expected, and he grew angry. At last he gave orders that she should be severely whipped when she came back. When the poor creature arrived, she pleaded for mercy, saying she had been so very ill, that she was obliged to rest in the fields ; but she was ordered to receive another dozen of lashes, for having had the impudence to speak. She died at the whipping post ; nor did she perish alone—a new-born babe died with her.—*Idem, Page 25.*

The trade is still briskly carried on in Africa, and new slaves are smuggled into these states, through the Spanish colonies. A very extensive internal slave trade is carried on in this country. The breeding of negroes for the markets, in other states, (Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri,) is a very lucrative branch of business. Whole coffles of them, chained and manacled, are driven through our Capital, on their way to auction.—*Idem, Page 30.*

Dr. Torrey says, whole families of free colored people have been attacked, in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged, and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity, leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds.—*Idem, Page 31.*

Advertisements are very common, in which a mother and her children are offered either in a lot, or separately, as may suit the purchaser. In one of these advertisements, I observed it stated, that the youngest child was about a year old.—*Idem, Page 33.*

The captives are driven by the whip, through toilsome journeys, under a burning sun : their limbs fettered ; with nothing before them but the prospect of toil more severe than that to which they have been accustomed.—*Idem, Page 33.*

Dealing in slaves has become a large business. Establishments are made at several places in Maryland and Virginia, at which they are sold like cattle. These places are strongly built, and well supplied with thumb screws, gags, cow-skins, and other whips, oftentimes bloody. But the laws permit the traffic, and it is suffered.—*Niles' Register, vol. 35, page 4.*

Woman has no protection against the unbridled lust of her master or his overseers, or any white man. The slave, and his wife, and his daughters, being considered as the *property* of their owners, compelled to yield implicit obedience, not allowed to give evidence, and public opinion ridiculing the slave's claim to any exclusive right in his own wife and children, upwards of half a million of female slaves in this country, are continually subject to the insults of brutal passion.

In Athens, the female slave could demand protection from the magistrates, against insulting treatment. But the American female slave is liable to the penalty of death, if she do but raise her hand, where by all other codes, woman may resist even unto death, and be guiltless.

The general licentiousness that prevails in slave countries, is notorious. In many places there are few slave children that can be called legitimate. The idea of moral purity is scarcely more known than it is among brutes. The multitude of mulattoes in the United States, bear evidence of the great licentiousness that prevails, on the part of the whites, in their intercourse with the black population. Moralists have depicted its miseries in glowing colors, and slave-holders have admitted the pernicious

effects of the slave system upon the morals of the community and upon individuals.*

With regard to the religious privileges of the slave, it is next to impossible that there should be a general diffusion of Christianity in a slave-holding state. In Georgia there is a law which forbids any congregation or company of negroes to assemble themselves, contrary to the act regulating patrols. Every justice of the peace may go in person, or send a constable, to disperse any assembly or meeting of slaves, which he supposes *may* disturb the peace, &c. and every slave taken at such meetings may, *without trial*, receive on the bare back twenty-five stripes. The West India planters boldly proclaimed that slavery and Christianity could not exist together, and that the latter must

* "You may whitewash the sepulchre—you may put upon it every adornment that fancy can suggest,—you may cover it over with all the flowers and evergreens that the garden or the fields can furnish, so that it will appear beautiful outwardly unto men. But it is a sepulchre still—full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. * * * Slavery is the very Upas tree of the moral world, beneath whose pestiferous shade all intellect languishes, and all virtue dies."—*Dr. Andrew Thompson.*

Slavery "is not useful, either to the master or to the slave; to the latter, because he can do nothing by virtue; to the former, because he contracts, with his slaves, all sorts of evil habits, injures himself insensibly to neglect every moral virtue, and becomes proud, passionate, hard-hearted, violent, voluptuous and cruel."—*Montesquieu.*

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it for man is an imitative animal. The parent storms; the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with *odious* peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy, who can retain his morals and manners undefaced, in such circumstances."—*Jefferson.*

In another place, the same statesman has said in view of slavery, "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us."

be put down. The express command of our Lord Jesus Christ makes it the duty and privilege of every human being to "search the Scriptures." Yet, in this Christian country, it is a penal offense to teach a slave to read the Holy Scriptures, to give him a tract, or a copy of the Bible. It is therefore impossible for the American Bible Society to carry into effect their noble resolution, to supply every family with a copy. Although they profess to have accomplished this object, yet two millions of the people are yet unfurnished with this invaluable treasure.

In Virginia and South-Carolina any school for teaching reading and writing, either to slaves, or free people of color, is considered *an unlawful assembly*, and may be dispersed, and punishment inflicted upon each pupil to the number of twenty lashes. The city of Savannah, a few years ago, passed an ordinance, by which

"Any person that teaches a person of color, slave or free, to read or write, or causes such persons to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of thirty dollars for each offense; and every person of color who shall teach reading or writing, is subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned *ten days* and whipped *thirty-nine lashes.*"

We do not doubt that the *humanity* of some slave holders mitigates the operation of such laws. But in all countries men are considered subject to despotism who have no protection but the generosity of their rulers. The laws in any state are a good index of the popular will. If then a majority of the masters, in slave states, were mild and

humane, is it to be supposed they would have published their own shame on the pages of their own statute books? It is worthy of remark that in human despotism, cruelty of practice is wont to go beyond cruelty of law. If we do not believe this general principle, in regard to the slaves in our own land, must it not be because we have received the testimony of the master only?

If any thing could aggravate the case of a slave, it is that he is in a land boasting of its freedom, among people who are continually speaking the praises of liberty, and under a government, of which the corner stone is the declaration that "all men are created equal." These laws, so inconsistent with natural justice, and with religion, are continually increasing in severity; their rigor in fact keeping pace with the increasing number of the slaves. Fifty-seven years ago, the world observed the inconsistency between our glorious declaration of equal rights, and our practice of domestic slavery. But witnessing the efforts of Franklin, Rush, Jay, King, Sedgwick, and other patriots, who soon after the revolutionary war formed societies to promote the same great end at which we now aim, gave us credit for sincerity, and took for granted that effectual measures would be adopted for the speedy removal of this foul blot upon our national escutcheon. What will the wise and good in foreign nations now say, when, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, without a step taken for the extinction of slavery, they learn that the people are unwilling to listen to a feasible

plan for its accomplishment? Already does every true-hearted American hang his head in foreign lands when obliged to confess that he belongs to a country, which has been fifty-seven years boasting of its liberty, and in that time has quadrupled the number of its slaves. Look at one-sixth of our twelve million citizens in slavery, and say, Shall this deep stain continue for ever?

Slavery must soon terminate, if in no other way, by the rapidity of its own growth. When our fathers declared that all men are created equal, they still held about half a million in bondage. These have increased to more than two millions. In twenty years they will be four, and in forty years eight millions. Since the last war was declared, in 1812, the slaves have doubled in number; and unless the remedy be applied before the children born in the year 1833 arrive at manhood, they will again double. The slightest observation must satisfy any person that such a state of things cannot continue in this enlightened age. We have seen the republics of the New World liberated from a foreign yoke by the power of public opinion, Greece made free, France revolutionized, Great-Britain reformed, Slavery abolished in the West Indies. Should liberal principles be diffused as rapidly in twenty years to come, as they have advanced in twenty years past, who can believe that the year 1850 will find four million persons held in bondage in republican America? Reason, humanity, and religion join in saying, slavery ought not to continue. A calm and philosophical observation of causes and effects teaches that it cannot!

WHAT THEN SHALL BE DONE?

It is to this momentous inquiry, that a sense of duty to our country, and of kindness to our brethren who hold slaves, impels us to call your attention. On so difficult a subject, the appeal should be only to the good sense and sound judgment, to the conscience and the heart, not to the baser passions, nor to prejudice. It is the character of error and injustice to be passionate, and refuse to hear reason. Neither you nor we, respected fellow-citizens, have any interest but in finding out the truth, and doing our duty. Let us not act the part of those, who, when the first martyr to the Christian religion declared that truth to the people, which cut them to the heart, "gnashed on him with their teeth, stopped their ears, ran upon him with one accord, cast him out of the city, and stoned him."

Nor will putting off discussion either remove the evil, shun the danger, or avert the crisis. Already it has been postponed too long. Instead of the half million of 1776, we have now upwards of two millions.

Whatever, either of difficulty or of danger, there is in the process, will only be increased by delay. If Abolition Societies should suspend their operations immediately, it will not prevent the slaves from increasing in a greater ratio than the whites, and amounting to four millions in twenty years, nor hinder every slave in the United States from speedily learning that his brethren in the West

Indies are free. Still less will it alter the inherent wrong of slavery, or obliterate the guilt of holding, buying, and selling MEN created in the image of God. Nor have we any right to roll upon posterity a responsibility which properly rests upon ourselves, and which, if suffered to descend to our children, will come upon them with accumulated force.

THE CRISIS.

No judicious man can fully consider this state of things, but he will arrive at the conclusion that slavery must terminate in one of three ways:—
 1. By the extermination of the blacks. 2. By the extermination of the whites. Or 3. By voluntary emancipation. To prevent the first two, by promoting the adoption of the third, is the aim of our society. We rejoice that humanity and patriotism concur with conscience and scripture in showing that the best way to do right is to do it as soon as we can.

Our very object precludes the idea of all resort to force. We have no force but the force of truth. Nor do we propose any measures not strictly within the allegiance we owe to the constitution and laws, under which we live.

The course of examination and free discussion, we are pursuing is the very method which our national constitution indicates, and secures, when it says, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble." That in seek-

ing the abolition of slavery we conform to the spirit of the constitution, and are strictly within the letter of it, is plain from the fact, that this venerated instrument gives no sanction to a system so abhorrent to the principles of '76. In all those provisions in which for the preservation of the union they thought it necessary to keep slavery in view, as an existing state of things, they acted under the expectation that it was only temporary, and would soon cease. Even the name of slavery has not polluted its pages; thus showing that our fathers would not have that document go down to posterity, carrying the disgraceful record that free Americans once held their fellow men as slaves.

Thus it naturally and properly belongs to the several states to determine the mode and circumstances in which one person may be held to labor for another. The states, therefore, will have the honor of terminating slavery within their respective bounds. The Constitution declares, that

"No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

This provision is as applicable to minors and apprentices as to slaves, and will be as important to the preservation of harmony among the states, when slavery shall have ceased, as it is now. And speaking only of "*persons* held to service or labor" it gives not the least countenance to the odious claim of property in human flesh. If any one

should make a claim in the United States Court, solely on the ground that a certain individual was his *property*, he would undoubtedly be nonsuited.

In apportioning representation and direct taxes, the constitution determines the federal numbers,

"By adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

Thus making it directly for the interest of all the states to increase their power in the nation, by changing all their "other persons" to "free persons."

But while we confine ourselves within the strictest construction of constitutional rights, we do not intend to be precluded from urging any measure which the constitution warrants. Congress exercises "exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over" the District of Columbia. If evidence were wanting to prove that we have declined from the principles of our fathers, we find it in the fact that the only portion of our country, for which *the government* is alone responsible, is filled with slaves, and is the mart of a slave trade scarcely inferior in enormity to that of Africa. We are therefore literally a SLAVE HOLDING NATION. The abolition of slavery, in our own District, is a measure within the power of Congress, and so manifestly easy and safe, that it ought not to be delayed another year. And when this is done, we cannot but hope that some

wise application may be made of the power of Congress "to regulate commerce among the several States," so as to effect the entire suppression of the infamous DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE. While Congress refuses to do these things, the world will give the nation little credit for its professed desire to abolish this accursed traffic, or to put an end to slavery; but will justly think the alleged want of power, on the part of Congress, is a mere pretense.

As our course is the only one by which slavery can be abolished, consistently with the Constitution, so it presents the only means of preserving our national union. Already have we seen the speedy dissolution of that union threatened, and as allowed by leading men of all parties, mainly through the influence of slavery. Scarcely is one crisis passed when another impends; and it is evident that this succession of dangerous excitements will never end but by the removal of its cause.

Our country is so knit together, in all its parts, that nothing could ever sunder it but the conflicting views and interests growing out of slavery. The plans proposed enable us to seek the removal of this cause by means which cannot endanger the security of the national compact, and which, when successful, will greatly strengthen our national bonds. The only power to be employed is that of a reformed public opinion; and a dissolution of the union will not shield slavery from such attacks. For surely no statesman will think of rendering public opinion more tolerant towards slavery, by sundering the union, or will act upon the

expectation that the free States will become less bold to speak their minds on the subject on being delivered from all political connection with it.

Let it be distinctly remembered that our object is purely moral. It is to deliver our colored brethren from slavery, and our white fellow citizens from the sin of oppression, the fair fame of our country from the stinging reproach of hypocrisy and tyranny, and ourselves and posterity from the judgments of an offended God. Should interested politicians seek to avail themselves of the slavery question to promote the views of party, we disclaim their interference. While engaged in a purely benevolent work we will not suffer the reproach of being actuated by political views.

Our whole reliance therefore, under God, is on the power of truth, and of public opinion. These weapons were successfully employed by Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their associates, to destroy the slave trade. The same power in the hands of Buxton, Lushington, O'Connell, and others, has wrung from a reluctant government, the death-warrant of slavery in all the British dominions. Let it not be said that in *free* America, truth and the sentiments of humanity, have less sway than in the monarchies of the old world.

We aim to bring back the public sentiment, concerning slavery, to the healthy state of the first days of the republic; and restore the abolition principles of Franklin, Jefferson, Rush, Jay, and others, and do what we conceive those sages would

do it they were now on the stage of human life. We would echo and carry into speedy effect, the voice of the disinterested La Fayette:

"While I am indulging," says he, "in my views of American prospects and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things can not always exist."

It is not only a right, but an imperative duty, to exhibit the heinousness of the slave system, and to endeavor to bring about its entire abolition.

"The moral, social and political evils of slavery," says an independent abolitionist, and able writer,* "are but imperfectly known and censured. These should be portrayed in strong but true colors, and it would not be difficult to prove, that however inconvenient and dangerous emancipation may be, *the continuance of slavery must be infinitely more inconvenient and dangerous.** * * But we have as good and as perfect a right to exhort slave holders to liberate their slaves, as we have to exhort them to practice any virtue, or avoid any vice. Nay, we have not only the right, but, under certain circumstances, it may be our duty to give such advice; and while we confine ourselves within the boundaries of right and duty, we may, and ought to, **DISREGARD THE THREATS AND DENUNCIATIONS BY WHICH WE MAY BE ASSAILED**!"

The philanthropists of Britain were opposed at first, but having truth on their side, they triumphed. Their motives were assailed, their characters vilified, and their persons exposed to the fury of mobs. But this only showed them where they had to begin their work — by proving how deadly is the influence of slavery in debasing the

principles even of the free. Christianity was opposed, and its advocates forbidden to speak on the subject. Republican principles are resisted in many countries; and the danger of free discussion forms the theme of many a state paper in absolute monarchies. But no *sanitary cordon*, even where tyranny usurps dominion over mankind, can forever shut out the contagion of free principles. The temperance cause also was opposed with bitterness, by many who now acknowledge its benign effects, and would be ashamed to be numbered among its enemies.

The same public opinion, which can move masters to voluntary emancipation, will also tend to deter slaves from insurrection; because, while it is strenuously urged as the immediate duty of the masters to liberate their slaves, and to change oppressive laws, no countenance is given to the slaves in seeking their freedom by physical force. Slave holders are our countrymen, and some of them our personal friends. God forbid that we should stir up the oppressed to wreak vengeance on the heads of their masters. The more slaves are enlightened and christianized, the better they will appreciate the folly, as well as madness, of attempting to seize upon their rights through the blood and flames of a servile war. The power of correct principles to prevent bloodshed, is seen in the fact that in the insurrection at Jamaica, none of the Christian negroes were found among those who were engaged in scenes of violence.

The plans, we propose, will also furnish the only

effectual check to the *disgraceful* amalgamation between the white and colored races, which is *now* making such rapid progress wherever slavery exists. Restore the blacks to their rights, protect their persons, honor the marriage institution among them, permit families to remain together, and there can be no doubt each race will, of choice, seek alliances only among themselves.

The measures suggested can be demonstrated to be the only means of preserving a large, fertile and beautiful portion of our country from impoverishment and depopulation.* To say nothing of a war between the whites and blacks, the only remaining means proposed, of bringing slavery to an end, is that of gradually emancipating the slaves, on the condition of their being immediately carried out of the country. But if the total abolition of slavery is to be accomplished only by the entire removal of the slaves, it is manifest that such a method must be most disastrous to large sections of our country, if, as is said, they cannot be cultivated by white laborers. Besides, this method is impracticable; for it is not to be expected that individuals will surrender what they consider their property in slaves, and at the same time condemn their fields to perpetual unproductiveness, for the want of laborers. Nor will the States consent to strip themselves of one half their popula-

* President Jefferson, though a slave holder, gave it as his opinion, that "the blacks will ultimately, (in spite of all attempts to keep them ignorant,) be the sole possessors of the low country, and the whites be obliged to migrate to other regions." But this may be prevented by emancipating, educating, and christianizing the slaves.

tion, and with it a large part of their federal power; when by emancipation their national influence would be proportionably increased. If it should be attempted by purchase, it may well be questioned whether Congress has the Constitutional power to apply the treasure of the nation to such an object. But if that could be done, or if it should be attempted by the funds of voluntary benevolence, the first purchases would so raise the price of slaves, that their pecuniary redemption would transcend the means of the nation. The loss of a few thousands at the south west, by cholera, less than two per cent. of our whole slave population, has the present year raised the price of slaves in Virginia twenty-five to fifty per cent.* The same would be the effect of expatriating thirty or forty thousand slaves in a year, and the price would increase almost indefinitely as laborers were diminished in number. If they were redeemed, or voluntarily liberated, who can calculate the price of transporting them across the Atlantic, or furnishing them there with the means of support, of improvement and of industry. Or if they were removed to Africa as fast as they increase in the United States, and there fed, how could they be governed? It is the serious apprehension of many persons that there would be danger, even under the firmly established government of the United States, in admitting them to their natural rights. But though we do not admit this danger, in freeing them on the soil where they be-

long, there may be a question as to their competency to maintain a government, uncultivated as they now are, if thrown in a mass beyond the control of a civilized country. We say nothing now of the attachment of colored Americans to their native land—nothing of the hardships they must endure in expatriation—nothing of the cruel injustice of refusing to redress their wrongs but upon the penalty of banishment to a sickly climate, and a barbarous shore. We barely say that doing right is the only thing that will save some of the fairest portions of this country from depopulation.

In favor of this banishment of two and a half millions of Americans from their native land, there is only a single argument, and that is the unmerited antipathy of the whites against them, on account of their color. The abolition of slavery will, itself, go far to remove this irrational prejudice, for *it is not found except in slave holding countries*. At any rate, it is too much to ask its gratification at so costly a price. Whereas the abolition of slavery, under safe regulations, prescribed by law, is merely changing the civil relations of the people, and would not interrupt the business, or order of society, for a day. The land, the houses, the money, the credit, the merchandize, the education and intelligence, the professional skill, the knowledge of business, the political pre-eminence, the press, the schools, the churches, would all be in the hands of the whites. The necessity of subsistence, and the attachments to home, and to the family, would lead

the blacks to seek employment where they live; while their labor would be just as necessary to the planters as before. Society, instead of being dissolved by the disruption of half its members, would be more firmly knit together, by the ties of mutual dependence, and the only cause of distrust and vengeance would be forever removed. The fertile soil, which holds all the world as its tributaries, would continue to pour forth its precious products, enriching its owners, without endangering their tranquillity.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

In the outset of our labors, we are met by the determined opposition of a society managed chiefly by slave holders, which has set itself, by its official publications, and by speeches in its meetings, to maintain that the continuance of slavery, is *necessary*, and to denounce in bitter terms, the advocates of immediate emancipation, as a combination of "deluded fanatics and reckless incendiaries." Deeply grieved as we are, that respectable individuals should thus echo the ribaldry of the base, when they are unacquainted with our plans, we cannot submit to this undeserved reproach, without attempting to show how far our fierce assailant is herself deserving of confidence, as a remedy for the evils of slavery.

Had the American Colonization Society confined its pretensions to the design of the pious men who were among its founders, it would never have opposed the abolition of slavery. Its design, as

expressed in its constitution, is to colonize the *free* people of color, with their consent, on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere. The hope of its founders, as stated by one of them,* was that "a few of the free blacks, of good character, could be settled on the African coast," and be the means "of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous tribes already there." But knowing the reluctance of the free people of color to remove to a climate that proved fatal to so many;† aware that their residence in slave states gave great uneasiness to slave holders; and conscious of the difficulty of obtaining funds from the charity of the people, the society has been, by its friends in the *northern* states, held up as a remedy for all the evils of slavery, while in the *southern* states they have solicited funds on the ground that colonizing the free people of color would enable the slave holders to retain their slaves with a firmer grasp. It is for the purpose of occupying the whole ground, and satisfying both slave holders, and those friendly to eventual emancipation, that the Colonization Society assumes to frown down all direct attempts to remove the dreadful evil of slavery. At the same

* Samuel J. Mills.

† The governor of the colony, Dr. Mechlin, speaking of the mortality of the emigrants who went from Charleston, Savannah, and Maryland, says, "the proportion of deaths is not yet more than one per cent, and a fraction, nor do I think, it will in the whole, after they have fully undergone their seasoning, exceed three per cent."—*African Repository*, June, 1833, p. 120. The cholera in 1832, carried off 4,000 inhabitants in this city, which is a little less than one and a half per cent. The mortality of new colonists at Liberia, who go from the *southern* parts of the United States, is not much more than *double* that which in New-York made every heart faint! And it is known now that *very few* survive who emigrate from the *northern* states.

time the abettors of slavery in the south, have been increasing the ferocity of their laws against the instruction of the slaves, and their emancipation, while they have been infringing upon the rights of the *free* people of color, in order to *make them willing* to emigrate.

Concerning the pretensions of the society, of promoting the abolition of slavery, the judgment of European philanthropists has already anticipated that of posterity. The protest of July, 1833, against the American Colonization Society, signed by Wilberforce, Buxton, Lushington, O'Connell, and other British abolitionists, who are unaffected by our national or sectional excitements, has pronounced the professions of the society "delusive," and its existence "an obstruction" to the overthrow of slavery throughout the world. To enable the public to judge whether the Colonization Society has any claims to patronage, as an institution professing, or tending, to rid the country of slavery, we shall quote testimony, chiefly from their official organ, the African Repository, the instrument by which it has been, for more than ten years, moulding the public sentiment to its purposes.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY DOES NOT AIM AT ABOLITION.

"It is far from the intention of this Society to effect, in *any manner*, the tenure by which a certain species of property is held."—*Clay's Speech*.

"From its origin, and throughout the whole period of its existence, it has constantly disclaimed all intention of interfering, in the smallest degree, with the rights of property, or the *object of*

emancipation, gradual or immediate." * * * "The society presents to the American public, *no project of emancipation.*"—*Idem.*

"He thought it necessary to show, that so far from being in the *smallest degree* connected with the abolition of slavery, the proposed society *would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property.*"—*Randolph's Speech.*

"It is no Abolition Society; it addresses, as yet, arguments to no master. It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general."—*African Repository*, vol. 3, p. 197.

"The Colonization Society, as such, have renounced wholly the name and the characteristics of abolitionists. In this point they have been unjustly and injuriously slandered. **INTO THEIR ACCOUNTS, THE SUBJECT OF EMANCIPATION DOES NOT ENTER AT ALL.**"—*Idem.* p. 396.

"Recognising the constitutional and legitimate existence of *Slavery*, it seeks not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with *the rights* it creates. *Acknowledging the necessity by which its present continuance, and the rigorous provisions for its maintenance, are justified,*" &c.—*Idem.* vol. 3, p. 16.

"To eradicate or remove the evil immediately is impossible, nor can any law of conscience govern necessity."—Vol. 1, p. 251.

"The scope of the Society is large enough, but it is nowise mingled or confounded with the broad sweeping views of a *few fanatics* in America, who would urge us on to the sudden and total abolition of slavery."—Vol. 3, p. 197.

"*The emancipation of slaves or the amelioration of their condition, with the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of people of color within the United States, are objects foreign to the powers of this Society.*"—Address of the Board of Managers, of the American Colonization Society, to its Auxiliary Societies.—Vol. 7, p. 291.

"Our Society and the friends of Colonization wish to be distinctly understood upon this point. From the beginning they have *disav-*

vowed, and they do yet *disavow*, that their object is *the emancipation of slaves.*"—Speech of James S. Green, Esq. before the New-Jersey Colonization Society.

COLONIZATION TENDS TO PERPETUATE SLAVERY.

"THEY, (THE SOUTHERN SLAVE HOLDERS) WILL CONTRIBUTE MORE EFFECTUALLY TO THE CONTINUANCE AND STRENGTH OF THIS SYSTEM, (SLAVERY) BY REMOVING THOSE NOW FREE, THAN BY ANY OR ALL OTHER METHODS WHICH CAN POSSIBLY BE DEVISED. *African Rep.* vol. I, p. 227.

"The Society, as a society, recognizes no principles in reference to the slave system. *It says nothing and proposes to do nothing, respecting it.*" * * * "So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the colonization policy generally believe, that slavery is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, *which they have no inclination, interest nor ability to disturb.*"—North American Review, for July, 1832.

"The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure slave holders, and the whole southern country, against certain evil consequences growing out of the present three-fold mixture of our population."—*Address of Rockbridge Colonization Society.*—African Repository, vol 4, p. 271.

"There was but one way, (to avert danger,) but that might be made effectual, fortunately. It was to PROVIDE AND KEEP OPEN A DRAIN FOR THE EXCESS BEYOND THE OCCASIONS OF PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT. Mr. Archer had been stating the case in the supposition that after the present class of free blacks had been exhausted, by the operation of the plan he was recommending, others would be supplied for action, in the proportion of the excess of colored population it would be necessary to throw off, by the process of voluntary manumission or sale. The effect must result inevitably from the depreciating value of the slaves, ensuing their disproportionate multiplication. The depreciation would be relieved and retarded at the same time, by the process. The two operations would aid reciprocally, and sustain each other, and both be in the highest degree beneficial. It was on the

ground of interest, therefore, the most indisputable pecuniary interest, that he addressed himself to the people and legislatures of the slave holding states."—*Speech of Mr. Archer, Fifteenth Annual Report.*

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY APOLOGIZES FOR SLAVERY.

"Slavery is an evil entailed upon the present generation of slave holders, which they must suffer, whether they will or not."—*African Rep.*, vol. 5, p. 179. "The existence of slavery among us, though not at all to be objected to our Southern brethren as a fault," &c.—*Second Annual Report of New-York Colonization Society.* "It, (the Society) condemns no man because he is a slave holder."—*African Repository.*

"They, (the Abolitionists) confound the *misfortunes* of one generation with the *crimes* of another, and would sacrifice both individual and public good to *an unsubstantial theory of the rights of man.*"—*African Repository*, vol. 7, p. 202.

In almost every address, delivered before the Society, similar expressions occur. By assuming the ground implied in the above extracts, the Colonization Society have fallen into the habit of glossing over and palliating the enormities of the slave system.

IT JUSTIFIES KEEPING THE SLAVES IGNORANT.

E. B. Caldwell, the first Secretary of the American Colonization Society, in his speech at its formation, recommended them to be kept "in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation, for, (says he) the nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy."

"The public safety of our brethren at the South requires them (the slaves) to be kept ignorant and uninstructed."—*G. P. Disosway, Esq., an active Colonizationist.*

"If the free colored people were generally taught to read, it might be an inducement to them to remain in this country, (that

is, in their native country!!) We would offer them no such inducement."—*Southern Religious Telegraph*, February 19, 1831.

"It is the business of the free (their safety requires it) to keep the slaves in ignorance. But a few days ago, a proposition was made in the legislature of Georgia to allow them so much instruction as to enable them to read the Bible; which was promptly rejected by a large majority."—*Proceedings of the N. Y. State Col. Soc. at Second Ann.*

COLONIZATION INCREASES THE VALUE OF SLAVES.

"The execution of this scheme would augment, instead of diminishing, the value of property left behind."—*African Rep.* vol. 2, p. 22.

THE SOCIETY TRADECES THE COLORED PEOPLE.

Our citizens are often told, by agents and others, who are pleading for money, that the Colonization Society is to civilize and evangelize Africa. "Each emigrant," says the Hon. Henry Clay, "is a Missionary, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion and free institutions." "They," [the free people of color,] "and they only," says the African Repository, "are qualified for colonizing Africa?" What are their qualifications? Let the society answer in its own words:

"Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves."—*African Rep.* vol. 2, p. 328.

"A horde of miserable people—the objects of universal suspicion—subsisting by plunder."—*Gen. C. F. Mercer.*

"An anomalous race of beings the most debased upon earth."—*African Rep.* vol. 7, p. 230.

"Of all classes of our population the most vicious is that of the free colored."—*Tenth Annual Report*

THE COLONY FACILITATES THE SLAVE TRADE.

We seek to do the Colonization Society no injustice; but wish the public generally to understand its character. The tendency of the Society to abolish the slave trade, by means of its African Colony, has been strenuously urged by its friends. But the fallacy of this is admitted by the following extract from the Fourteenth Report of the Society itself, in 1831.

"Some appalling facts in regard to the slave trade have come to the knowledge of the Board of Managers, during the last year. With undiminished atrocity and activity is this odious traffic now carried on all along the African coast. Slave factories are established in the immediate vicinity of the colony; and at the Gallinas, (between Liberia and Sierra Leone) not less than 900 slaves were shipped during last summer, in the space of three weeks."

On the 6th of April, 1832, the British House of Commons ordered the printing of a document entitled "Slave Trade—Sierra Leone," containing official evidence of the fact that the pirates engaged in the African Slave Trade, are supplied from the stores of Sierra Leone and Liberia, with such articles as the infernal traffic demands! An able English writer, on the subject of Colonization, thus notices this astounding fact:

"And here it may be well to observe, that as long as negro slavery lasts, all colonies on the African coast, of whatever description, must tend to support it, because, in all commerce, the supply is more or less proportioned to the demand. The demand exists in negro slavery; the supply arises from the African slave trade. And what greater convenience could the African slave traders desire than shops well stored along the coast, with the very articles which their trade demands? That the African slave

traders do get thus supplied at Sierra Leone and Liberia is matter of official evidence: and we know from the nature of human things, that they will get supplied, in defiance of all law or precaution, as long as the demand calls for the supply, and there are free shops stored with all they want at hand. The shop keeper, however honest, would find it impossible always to distinguish between the African slave trader or his agents and other dealers. And how many shop keepers are there any where that would be over-scrupulous in questioning a customer with a full purse?"

THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE COLONY IS NOT WHAT WAS
ANTICIPATED.

That it is a convenience to missionary operations in Africa, to have a well regulated commercial station on the coast, cannot be doubted. But as to any direct moral influence from a *trading* colony, all history forbids us to expect it. If any such colonies could produce such a result, we might have expected it from those of New-England. But their superior skill in trade, in arts, in arms, the diseases they introduced, the strong drink, the deadly weapons, and the wars between tribes, have exterminated the natives of this country. That the influence of Liberia may be the same, is greatly to be feared. The Rev. J. B. Pinney, now just returning to Africa, as a missionary, says of the colony, in which he spent several months:

"But two or three hitherto have done any thing scarcely towards agriculture. The *wealthy* find it easier to trade: the poor suppose it degrading. * * * Nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants. * * * A colonist of any dye, would think himself degraded by marrying a native. * * * As little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States to better the con-

dition of the lower. Such I suppose will ever be the case, when men are not actuated by a pure desire to do good."

It has also been credibly stated, and never denied, that FOURTEEN HUNDRED BARRELS of RUM, (besides other spirituous liquors) have been sold at the colony, in a single year. The "Liberia Herald" shows also, that gunpowder, guns, and "spear-pointed knives," are sold at Liberia as the principal articles of commerce. Knowing these facts, many friends of temperance, and of peace, who formerly contributed liberally to the Society, have declared that they cannot conscientiously do so any longer.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY CENSURES THE FORMING OF ANTI-SLAVERY OR ABOLITION SOCIETIES.

When Anti-Slavery Societies are blamed, and considered aggressive, for opposing the Colonization Society, it seems to be forgotten that the Colonization Society had filed its *previous protest* against the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies. We appeal to the Records.

"The Society *** having declared that it is in nowise allied to any Abolition Society in America, or elsewhere, is ready, whenever there is need, TO PASS A CENSURE ON SUCH SOCIETIES IN AMERICA."—*Speech of Mr. Garrison, of Virginia, Fifteenth Annual Report.*

The Colonization Society, as has been clearly shown, solemnly disclaims any design of promoting the abolition of slavery; no intelligent friend of that society believes it practicable ever to *remove the whole* slave population from the country; most persons consider it impracticable to remove even

the annual increase; it is susceptible of easy demonstration that the *entire* abolition of slavery by voluntary emancipation will become less probable if the value of slaves should increase, as it will, by the removal of a part; and that the design of producing entire emancipation, cherished on the part of any portion of the colonizationists, by removing the free blacks to Africa, is a scheme that must be pronounced chimerical by every well informed person who examines the subject. To deny it, is conclusive evidence that the person has but a superficial knowledge of the subject, or the opinions of those most conversant with it.

But it is said by some that "the *moral influence* of the Society, by the discussion and inquiries it excites, will eventually tend to the total abolition of slavery." It would seem, however, that little credit is due to the Society, for promoting discussion, since we find it calling meetings, and employing distinguished orators to stigmatize as fanatics and incendiaries those who have avowed it to be their object, by inquiry and discussion, "to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation, that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic."¹⁸ If the Colonization Society were friendly to abolition, or even to discussion, would it thus unsparingly denounce those who only wish to use the one to effect the other? An enlightened community will judge.

But our principal objection against expatriation is that it is founded in PREJUDICE against a part

¹⁸ Constitution of the New-York City Anti-Slavery Society.

of this nation, on account of the shade which the Creator has given to their complexion. The Society styles itself "American," solicits the support of the whole nation, and has even petitioned for the patronage of the Government. Its voice therefore, if sustained, will be taken by the world as the voice of the whole nation, saying to one-sixth of its members: We have such contempt for you, on account of that for which you are in no way to blame, that we will not suffer you to live among us, but will oppress you, and weary you out, till you shall consent to be banished to the grave yards of Liberia.

If the principal members of the Colonization Society had not declined setting an example of emancipating their slaves; if the Society had not expressly disclaimed all efforts for abolition; if it had not apologized for slavery, and justified keeping the slaves in ignorance; if it had not unfairly monopolized nearly all the sympathy in this country for people of color; if it were not an opiate on the consciences of slave holders, and a delusion before the eyes of the philanthropic; if it did not oppose Abolition Societies; if it did not hold out one inducement to the people of the northern states, and an opposite one to the people of the southern states; we should not have occasion to bring forward these painful evidences that it is an obstruction to the improvement of the colored race, to the progress of religion, to temperance, to peace, and the rights of man. As a Society, we have clearly proved that it is obnoxious to these censures. If, as

we doubt not, many of its members are at heart opposed to the avowed principles we have quoted, it is for such to consider the correctness of adhering to an institution that is doing so much to uphold them. The piety of some of its founders, the devotedness of many of its agents, and the respect in which a large number of its friends are deservedly held, will not rescue the principles of the Society from being regarded as inimical to the welfare of the colored people in this nation.

But whatever may be the difference of opinion on several subordinate points, there is only one way to meet the crisis to which we have arrived. The proof is abundant that the only means of safety is the *entire* abolition of Slavery. It is believed, that when the doctrine is properly understood, our citizens will not be slow to be convinced that the only wise method of making it *entire* is to make it *immediate*. The right, and the God of right, are with us. Relying upon His arm for support and guidance, and imploring His blessing for success, we address ourselves to our work, unangered and unawed, and invite the support and aid of our fellow-citizens, under the firm and settled assurance, that, whatever of labor or obloquy, it may cost the friends of abolition, it is THE CAUSE OF GOD AND OUR COUNTRY, AND WILL SUCCEED.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

NEW-YORK CITY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WHEREAS our national existence is based on the principle laid down in the Declaration of Independence, "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God and the world, one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow citizens; and whereas slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is greatly hindering the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union and liberties of the States; and whereas we believe no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment, throughout the nation, that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery, in any part of the republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas we believe that we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to posterity and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery, we do hereby agree (with a prayerful reliance on that Being who "has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face

of the earth,") to form ourselves into a Society, to be governed by the following

C O N S T I T U T I O N.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be styled the "New-York City Anti-Slavery Society."

ARTICLE II. The object of this Society shall be to collect and diffuse information on the true character of slavery; to convince our countrymen of its heinous criminality in the sight of God; to show that the duty, safety, and interest of all concerned require its abandonment; and to take all lawful, moral, and religious means to effect a total and immediate abolition of Slavery in the United States.

ARTICLE III. This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, by correcting the prejudices of public opinion, and by endeavoring to obtain for our colored fellow-citizens an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges; but will never countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ARTICLE IV. Any person who agrees with the principles of this Constitution, and contributes to the funds, may be a member of the Society, and shall be entitled to vote at its meetings.

[The remaining articles regulate the officers and their duties, provide for a meeting on the first Wednesday of October annually, and at other times on the call of the Committee, and prescribe the mode of altering the Constitution.]

The Society then went into the choice of Officers, when the following persons were chosen.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.

WILLIAM GREEN, Jr., Vice President.

JOHN RANKIN, Treasurer.

ELIJAH WRIGHT, Jr., Cor. Secretary.

CHAS. W. DENISON, Rec. Secretary.

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

ISAAC T. HOPPER,

ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D.

LEWIS TAPPAN,

WM. GOODELL,

} Managers.